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NATIONAL REVIEW

A WEEKLY JOURNAL OF OPINION

The Right to Join—or Not

SYLVESTER PETRO

England's Upper-Class Proletcult

COLM BROGAN

The Case for Disarmament

AN EDITORIAL

Articles and Reviews by ·····WILLMOORE KENDALL
WILLIAM S. SCHLAMM·JAMES BURNHAM·REVILO OLIVER
ANTHONY LEJEUNE·L. BRENT BOZELL·MORRIE RYSKIND

For the Record

Senator Hruska of Montana has asked the State Department to explain why the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization is helping Hungarian Premier Kadar out of his present agricultural crisis. Of the FAO's funds, 31.5 per cent come from the United States....Last public figures on the Hungarian purge: 89 death sentences, 41 executions of last year's freedom fighters....The recently concluded Hungarian-Soviet military pact calls for a cut in the Hungarian army from 240,000 to 50,000 men.

Egypt's new espionage law provides the death sentence for a multitude of offenses, including rumor-mongering and insults to the President.... Soviet-Egyptian trade increased about ten times during the first four months of 1957, but Egyptian officials indicate they are not pleased with the quality of wheat, crude oil and kerosene they are receiving from the USSR.... Jordan has banned all Egyptian newspapers and magazines because of continuing attacks on King Hussein in the Cairo press.

French authorities claim the Algerian National Liberation Front is receiving five billion francs a year ($14.5 million) from supporters in the other Arab States, in France and in Algeria itself....An American electronics engineer, John N. Dyer, says the Soviet Union's electronics industry is ten years behind our own....Now that Great Britain has brought about a relaxation of the Red China embargo she is expected to press for a relaxation of the strategic embargo on the USSR and the East European satellites as well.

The Philippine Senate has adopted legislation to outlaw the Communist Party and to prescribe the death penalty for Party organizers and leaders and jail sentences for CP members....A third Jakarta editor was arrested by the army in Indonesia last week and held without charges....The Finance Minister of Pakistan told his compatriots the other day that Pakistan must stop depending so much on United States aid.

The United States last week presented to Marshal Tito a U. S. Atomic Energy Commission "atoms for peace" library. It consisted of 13,100 technical reports....The $95 million Polish aid agreement has been temporarily blocked in the House of Representatives on a point of order.

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The WEEK

● Why oh why is it so compulsively necessary for George Humphrey to say he is leaving his post as Secretary of the Treasury merely because he needs to get back to private business? In the first place, we doubt if it is true; and truth should, somewhere along the line, figure in these things. But even if it *is* true, why must he stress the steel industry's need of him, or his need of the steel industry, a singular relationship of mutual affection, to be sure, but one which is of limited public concern—why not cite the fact that he *has* differences with Mr. Eisenhower and that, as a serious man with serious convictions, he believes those differences to be serious, not frivolous, and worth stressing, not burying, at the moment when he makes one of his final public statements as Secretary of the Treasury? The reason, in part, is because of the obsession of Modern Republicanism with an undifferentiated teammanship that makes the important thing not the adherence to principle, but the shrinking from principle; the personalization of all issues and differences and analyses, to the point where that which is important when Humphrey announces his departure from Washington is the state of his relations with the steel industry, not the state of his mind about the state of the union.

● The eloquent and courageous former Ambassador Spruille Braden—who had an inside seat on the foreign aid program as Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs in the Truman era—has opposed extension of the program in testimony before the House Foreign Affairs Committee last week. He said the program is, a) bleeding America white, without b) hurting Communism or c) winning us any real friends among the recipient nations. Mr. Braden summed up our efforts at international philanthropy in this succinct way: "Never have so many given away so much for so little."

● In a radio address to his people, Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek assumed responsibility for anti-American riots in Taipei. He could understand, he said, the anger of the people against the military court that so flippantly and uncritically exonerated an American sergeant who had killed a Chinese civilian; but Taipei's security officers should have forestalled mob violence, which brings "dishonor upon the nation." The security officers in charge when the riots occurred will be dismissed. "We must," the Generalissimo reminded his people, "in carrying out our national policy against Communism and Russian imperialism stand on the same side with the United States which is . . . the only one among the foreign powers which has never conceived any designs on our territory." Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek has again demonstrated the moral dignity and courage which for so many years have made him the national leader of the free Chinese.

● President Sukarno has just appointed as Indonesia's chief delegate to the United Nations Ali Sastroamidjojo, the former premier who was recently forced out of office by the united resistance of all Indonesia's anti-Communist parties to his Communist-favoring policies. Sastroamidjojo is expected to model his UN performance on Krishna Menon's example. Meanwhile the United States has added a new allocation of aid to Sukarno, who is busily working with the Indonesian Communists and Soviet agents to smash the anti-Communist political and military groups that several months ago won local successes in Sumatra, Celebes and North Borneo.

● Helped by a simple bilateral agreement with the United States, negotiated without fanfare, Denmark has completed its first nuclear reactor at Risoe, near Copenhagen. Under the direction of the world-famous physicist, Niels Bohr, it will be used for research and training, and for producing isotopes for industry, farming and medicine. Last week Mr. S. K. Braiden of our Atomic Energy Commission turned over to Mr. Erick Thrane of the Danish Embassy the enriched U-238 which will put the reactor into active operation. Thus was concluded the kind of fruitful, mutually agreed nuclear cooperation with a friendly country that—if the International Atomic Energy Agency treaty is confirmed by the Senate—will hereafter become subject to the red tape, sabotage and super-bureaucracy of an unwieldy eighty-nation outfit officered and staffed in considerable part by our enemies.

● Red China, Her Majesty's Government have announced, will henceforth be able to buy from our ally Britain such patently "non-strategic" items as locomotives (which can only pull trains carrying troops and munitions), trucks (which can only carry troops and munitions), and machine-tools (which are merely tools that can make the tools used in waging war). The State Department, responding to this new British betrayal of the spirit of the anti-Communist alliance, has laid it on the line in typical State Department fashion: "The United States is most disappointed . . . ." Similarly, the majority of the senators who were called upon for comment, instead of calling on Britain to rescind the new ruling, either apologized for it (Senator Sparkman: the British need the trade, we don't; let's be realistic) or made

it the occasion for wisecracks about U.S. foreign policy (Senator Fulbright: the British did it out of "weariness" with the Administration's "sterile" rejection of the Communist regime). Only Senator Knowland spoke up like a man ("[the] action . . . can only strengthen our common enemies").

● Stuart G. Tipton, President of the Air Transport Association, has recently pointed out to Congress that the Department of Defense is running the world's largest airline in direct competition with private carriers. This despite the Hoover Commission's work in exposing such duplications many months ago. All we can say is that Parkinson's Law of Bureaucratic Fission takes on some peculiar permutations in the American air. Here a bureaucracy doubles every decade if you leave it alone, but trebles and even quadruples if you expose its workings to the light of day.

● Are we, off at the end, going to have *nothing* left of the dream we lost? The Communists, charges King Hussein, were so unscrupulous as to use bribery —a quarter of a million dollars worth of vulgar, bougeois bribery—shared out among local ministers and army officers in the course of engineering the recent Jordanian "crisis." Quite properly, however, the King confines his indignation to the giving of the bribes rather than to the accepting of them—which he, like ourselves in the age of foreign aid, regards as a fairly routine matter.

● The Rockefeller brothers' International Basic Economy Corporation, C.I.T. Financial Corporation, and three associated firms are about to take over American Overseas Finance Corporation, which was organized in 1955 by a group of large banks to make loans to foreign purchasers of U.S. products. The new owners will extend American Overseas' operations into a wide variety of foreign investment and venture. It is safe to predict that most of these will be of great practical benefit to the "underdeveloped nations" where they will be chiefly undertaken. They will not cost the U.S. taxpayers a red cent. On the contrary, indeed; for these villainous fellows expect to make good profits, the taxes on which will swell, not drain, the U.S. Treasury. Perhaps that is why the Moscow press, simultaneously with the news of this Rockefeller project, published a ferocious attack on the Rockefellers as slave drivers who are "always in blood up to their knees."

● In a recent issue of the English conservative weekly, *Time and Tide*, a columnist traced the relentless passage of bills "designed to prevent people doing what they like with their own." The British government now wants to compel landowners to allow electricity officials onto their property to survey it for power stations and transmission lines—without, apparently, understanding "that the point of owning land is that you don't have to agree to other people surveying it with an eye to appropriating it later." The writer asked why personal liberty goes undefended, why "freedom has broadened down from precedent to precedent" since the time when the King of England "with all his force dare [d] not cross the threshold of the ruined tenant"? The individualist, he concludes, suffers from a logical difficulty: "How can the individual oppose the mass while retaining his individuality? How can you organize to attack the idea of organization?"

● The *New York Times* has its readers all ready for a light penalty in the Arthur Miller case ("Judges seldom impose the maximum sentence . . . and no one has been imprisoned recently for refusing to talk about others . . . ."). The point is, of course, that refusing to talk about others is *worse* than refusing to tell about oneself; that Mr. Miller's contempt of Congress was *flagrant* not innocent; that the most useful task to which Mr. Miller might give full time over the next year is that of getting across to "others" the wrongfulness and unwisdom of defying Congress; and that, *therefore*, nothing short of the maximum sentence (one year, $1,000 fine) makes sense.

● The Board of Trustees of the New York Library have accepted for the Library's collection a bust of Dr. W. E. B. DuBois made by the sculptor, William Zorach. Their choice, the Board stated, was based on the fact that Dr. DuBois is a "prominent Negro" and Mr. Zorach a "prominent artist." They did not add that DuBois is also one of the nation's prominent Communists, with an unbroken record of support for every Communist and Soviet cause from the Rosenbergs to Peace Congresses; or that Zorach has for decades been a prominent fellow-traveling stalwart among artists and intellectuals.

● A *terribly* sophisticated editorial writer at the Easton (Pa.) *Express* wants to know whether it is the intention of the House Committee on Un-American Activities to brand "the concert balalaika as an instrument of Communist propaganda," or specify the "number of movements in piano concertos," or find subversion "lurking in some subtle interpretations of Beethoven's Sonata Appassionata." The Olympic irony was provoked by the news that the House Committee on Un-American Activities will investigate the influence of Communists in the world of music. So what if the world of music is full of Communists, the *Express* writer wants to know? "It is highly unlikely that the national security could be imperilled by the manner in which a few fuzzy-

brained political and social malcontents interpreted Peter and the Wolf, or some other musical score." Uh-huh. Fuzzy-brained like Hans Eisler? Who, as a Hollywood musician (with a considerable talent) coordinated the movements of a Soviet apparatus? The danger to music, gentlemen of the *Express,* is from the Left, not the Right. If you really want no interference with music, keep your sensitive little ears cocked for doings over in the Communist world. The politicalization of art is a high duty for the Communist whose brain, alas, is not always as fuzzy as some that prosper in the world of bourgeois journalism.

The Case for Disarmament

Situation Report, spring 1957:

Iraq. Communists stage nation-wide bloody demonstrations in attempt to break government of pro-Western Premier Nuri as-Said.

India. Communists increase vote to 12 million and take control of State of Kerala, from which they begin to apply Yenan strategy in conquest of India.

Cuba. Communists, supporting revolutionary terrorists, swing Fidel Castro revolt into anti-United States channel.

Hungary. Execution of suspected Freedom Fighters continues throughout the spring.

Indonesia. Communists join with Sukarno in project for centralized, authoritarian dictatorship.

Denmark, Norway, Holland. Moscow threatens annihilation if NATO bases established.

Algeria. Soviet agents join to arouse extreme nationalists, supplied with Soviet arms through Egypt, to unexampled pitch of terrorism.

France. Communists, in open policy of treason, aid and support Arab terrorists, who begin assassinations in metropolitan France.

United States. Communists launch new subversive drive based on United Front tactic.

Ghana. Moscow organizes cadre for subversion of newly independent state, and begins propaganda phase of operation.

Taiwan. Underground Communists turn local tensions into extreme and violent anti-Americanism.

Red China. Shelling of Free Chinese offshore islands continues, along with buildup of air force and air fields.

Poland. Communists act to restore Party discipline and to reaffirm loyal support of Moscow's world policy.

Singapore. By manipulating local Chinese majority, Communists undermine newly established native government.

Germany. Moscow maintains unyielding stand that effectively blocks reunification.

North Korea. In direct violation of treaty, Communist rule set up in northwestern provinces.

Lebanon. Communists stage bloody riots against pro-Western government.

Syria, Egypt. Moscow ships arms and guides anti-Western policy.

Jordan. Soviet agents, working with Syrians and Egyptians, attempt to overthrow King Hussein.

World-wide. In all nations of free world, Soviet-directed Communists continue full-scale espionage, terrorism, sabotage, infiltration and subversion.

Moscow. Soviet leaders openly declare unchanged objective of world Communist revolution.

Conclusion (as derived by our official logicians, Messrs. Eisenhower and Stassen): Since Moscow wants peace, and has shown a sincere wish to relax tensions, the time has come for Disarmament.

No Headphones, No Blood Showing

They might have met at Studio 8A in Radio City, for the efficiency of it all. Everyone came carefully prepared and exactly on time; everything was in perfect running condition, the newsmen were seated at just the right angle, the proper amount of makeup had been dabbed on his face, the cameras were trained—and then a set of headphones was handed to Nikita Khrushchev to permit simultaneous translation of the questions that were to be put to him. No, Khrushchev said, waving the headphones to one side. They would make him, he said explaining his refusal, appear undignified.

And dignity Nikita Khrushchev wants desperately. The New Communism must be dignified, and humanized. It was to civilize Communism that the stagy effort was made at the 20th Congress to wash away the crudities of Stalin. It was the search for dignity that took Khrushchev and Bulganin to Geneva, and to Buckingham Palace. It is not austerity, or regality, that they look for: thus the leavening informality, the Khrushchev waterlogged with vodka, exchanging ribaldries at embassies here and there in the capitals of the world. Just dignity—a well integrated, well adjusted, well behaved member of the Community of nations. No headphones; no blood showing.

The Communist world years since caught on to the fact that that which it finds is incapable of effecting for itself, the West will effect in its behalf. A Communist cannot, without other people's active cooperation, do a very good job of concealing his brutality. Khrushchev cannot appear on a television screen before an imaginative audience without calling forth

visions of crushed patriots in Budapest, or mutilated millions in Siberia—not unless glittering robes of legitimacy are draped about him by non-Communists. In this the West has consistently cooperated.

In dealing with Khrushchev as an orthodox head of an orthodox state, with which we carry on orthodox relations in orthodox times, we do the yeoman's work in the business of legitimization. All he has to do is part his hair and slick it down: CBS will do the rest, with the respectful newsmen who address him with deference, with the meticulous attention the press gives to his lightest rhetorical sally, with the patience shown for his evasions. No wonder, sensing his control of the situation, that the leader of the Communist world could, right in the middle of his performance, indulge himself in an exhilarating shot of undiluted impudence—could remind his listeners, smilingly, that just as sure as they sat there, their children would one day be his vassals.

If the West continues to sit in such a posture of respectful and inquisitive attention before Communism, our children may live to see that prophecy fulfilled.

From Ike, With Love

To those whose conscience is bothered about voting for Mr. Eisenhower in 1952: Greetings from the President who, in 1952, looked good. Here's the evidence:

From a statement General Eisenhower issued in the spring of 1952: "As of now, I feel safe in saying . . . that reckless and excessive spending and taxation can, in the long run, be as dangerous to our way of life as are external threats."

From a letter General Eisenhower wrote a friend in the summer of 1952: "Extravagance in governmental spending brings about ever-increasing taxes—taxes which, if long continued, will strangle incentive, the very quality which built the nation. . . . Unjust and unwise taxation, tending toward the destruction of freedom, can be made to appear, temporarily, as humanitarian concern for the masses."

From policy recommendations made by General Eisenhower in 1952: "Practice Spartan frugality in non-essential matters, so that we may make the greatest possible contribution to the defense of our way of life."

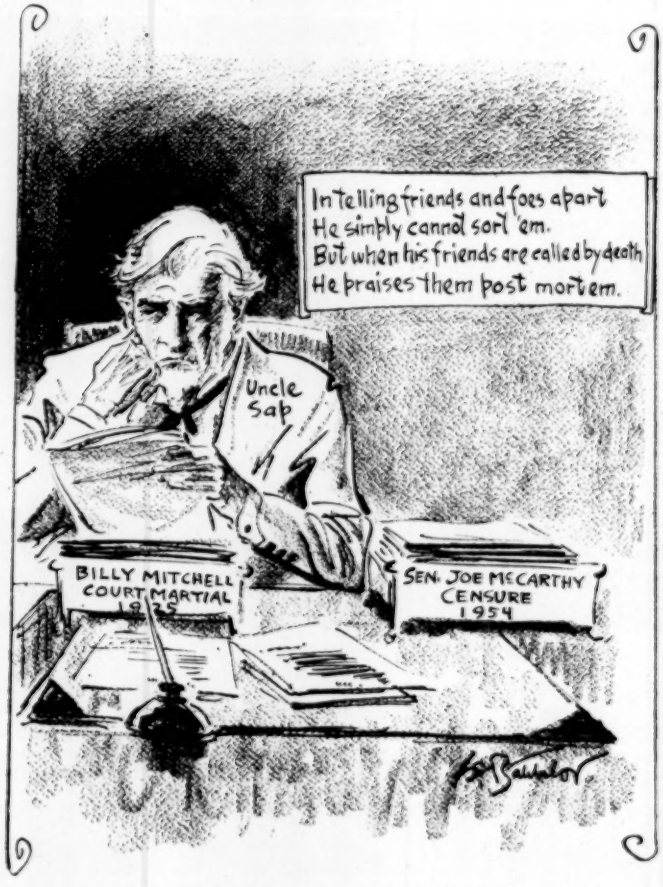
From a tax policy announcement by General Eisenhower in 1952: "Today the 'grants-in-aid' policies of the Federal government are defended on the allegation that the states are too poor to sustain themselves. Such specious reasoning . . ."

In short, today intelligent Americans oppose the President for the very same reasons for which, in 1952, the President would have been opposed by General Eisenhower.

The Court v. National Security

The ramifications of the Supreme Court's ruling that a defendant must have access to any files of the Federal Bureau of Investigation relevant to testimony brought before the Court cannot, on the morning after, be fully comprehended. Where on earth can this lead? lawyers are whispering to one another. To a total paralysis in our effort to enforce legally anti-Communist legislation? Is it now the law of the land that a confidential relationship with priest, doctor or lawyer is to be respected, but not so between the citizen and his government? Justice Clark, who dissented from the majority, urges Congress to "change the rule announced by the Court today," thus registering his conviction that the mischief of the judicial majority can be undone by the act of a simple legislative majority. But who knows, the next go-round may see the Court insisting that there is at stake a constitutional principle over which Congress has no jurisdiction: in which event, heaven only knows what will be done.

The majority of the Court seem to be saying that a defendant is entitled to view not merely the case the Justice Department presents to the Court, but also the raw dossier on the basis of which that case was put together. Justice Clark, who buttressed his


In telling friends and foes apart
He simply cannot sort 'em.
But when his friends are called by death
He praises them post mortem.
Uncle Sap
BILLY MITCHELL COURT MARTIAL 1935
SEN. JOE MCCARTHY CENSURE 1954

argument by recalling testimony before a Senate committee by J. Edgar Hoover several years ago, expresses astonishment at the mere suggestion that such a course of action should be sanctioned. Apart from the fact that sordid and essentially irrelevant raw material out of which a case occasionally crystallizes would henceforward be exposed to public view, there is another objectionable consequence that follows upon the Court's decision: there is danger to the national security. Unless the judgment is reversed, writes Justice Clark, "those intelligence agencies of our government engaged in law enforcement may as well close up shop, for the Court has opened their files to the criminal and thus afforded him a Roman holiday for rummaging through confidential information as well as vital national secrets."

The argument did not give pause to the majority, which met it by saying, simply, Very well then, if you want to keep the files private, don't prosecute: "The burden is the government's . . . to decide whether the public prejudice of allowing the crime to go unpunished is greater than that attendant upon the possible disclosure of state secrets and other confidential information in the government's possession."

There are intricate legal matters involved, some of which we will examine, in the anarchical wake of the Court's decision. It remains to be said that the Court continues, with relentless consistency, to undermine the national effort to protect ourselves against, and punish, those who plot against our freedom and sovereignty.

The Four Rash Men

There are three avenues of approach to the 4-2 ruling of the Supreme Court that the du Pont Company's 23 per cent stock ownership of General Motors constitutes a "monopoly" interest under the terms of the anti-trust laws. The first is the issue of facts; the second is the combined ethical-legal issue; and the third is the economic wisdom of permitting one company to own a large slice of another.

On the question of the facts, the majority decision seems to violate industrial history. Mr. Justice Brennan, in his majority reversal of Federal District Judge Walter LaBuy's Chicago court, stuck to the narrow issue of du Pont's alleged use of its GM position to "entrench itself as the primary supplier of General Motors' requirements for automotive finishes and fabrics." The record, says Justice Brennan, "plainly reveals" that du Pont "purposely employed its stock" to "pry open" the GM market.

The words "purposely" and "pry" would seem to connote a conspiracy to exclude other finish and fabric manufactures from a market which they might have had if there had been no du Pont interest in GM. But Detroit production history tells an entirely different story, at least insofar as the paint market is concerned. Back in the early twenties the major bottleneck in the mass production of cars was the spray booth: it took so long for paint to dry that the whole production line was slowed to the exasperating tempo of this one operation. Accordingly GM detailed its famous inventor, "Boss" Kettering, to work with du Pont people on the problem of a fast-drying paint for automobile bodies. The result of the collaboration was a paint and a thinner which enabled cars to zip through the spray booths and out to the dealers in jig time. Far from being "compelled" by du Pont's 23 per cent stock ownership to take the paint, GM rushed to get all it could. If the GM production men had done otherwise, they would have been competitively insane.

In the words of the minority opinion of Justices Burton and Frankfurter, the majority of the Court ignored "the all important lawfulness or unlawfulness of the stock acquisition at or about the time it occurred." If the Court had taken a strong stand on the words of the Clayton Act, which makes stock purchases of one company by another illegal if monopoly is even a merely probable outcome of the transaction, du Pont and GM would have less ground for complaint. Clearly, Section 7 of the Clayton Act does not require proof of an actual anti-competitive situation resulting from cross-corporation stock purchases. Inasmuch as the old common law tradition is that a man is innocent until proved guilty, the moral wisdom of the Clayton Act may be questioned. But no one can deny that Section 7 is the law of the land.

As to the third question, the economic wisdom of the use of the funds of one company to buy a big position in another is questionable from the stockholders' point of view. Surpluses above the amount needed for research and expansion should in the ordinary course of events be paid out in dividends, otherwise the stockholder is at the mercy of empire builders. But whether cross-corporation stock purchases should be prevented by law or by custom in a voluntary society is a question that is open to argument. In any event, to punish du Pont retroactively for a policy mistake made forty years ago is a little thick, especially considering the loss of values which would result from capital gains depredations and from the demoralization of the stock market which would ensue if the GM shares were to be dumped on the market all at once. The du Pont Company will probably find some way of handling the situation without loss to itself or its stockholders (say by creating a non-voting trust to hold the stock), but even so the whole business leaves one with a bad taste in the mouth.

The Melouza Massacre

It was a traditional medieval belief that there was one unforgivable sin—the sin, as it was darkly spoken of, against the Holy Ghost. Although the theologians never declared its exact nature, it was generally thought to consist in the hardening of the intellect against the truth: not mere ignorance, but a refusal even to seek the truth, and hence unforgivable because truth must be inevitably and forever lost to him who is not willing even to seek it.

In our own day it may be necessary to enlarge the idea of the unforgivable sin in order to subsume also the hardening of the heart against love and anguish: not firmness, not coldness even, but a shutting off of the spirit, a refusal alike to hate evil or to love good, and hence unforgivable because the good must be inevitably and forever lost to a soul that is dead to hate and love.

On May 30 the assassins of the Algerian National Liberation Front, their breasts raging with the fires of Hell, massacred every male inhabitant over the age of fifteen in the village of Melouza, eighty miles southeast of Algiers, which village the Liberation Front had accused of being backward in exterminating Frenchmen. There were 303 victims, unarmed and defenseless, all fellow-Moslems and fellow-countrymen. Before the eyes of the assembled mothers, wives and infants, the husbands, fathers and sons were tortured and sliced to death according to the unspeakable and unprintable practices in use by the North African terrorists. The executioners were well trained: the 303 had been preceded by at least 5,000 of their fellows.

Not one prominent voice in the United States, official or unofficial, has been raised in horror or protest at this deed that, like its predecessors in the Algerian "liberation struggle," is not so much barbarous as Satanic. No editorial, that we have seen, appeared in any great paper or journal; no indignation was sounded from radio or TV; not even a passing comment came from the White House, from the Vice President so lately returned from that region, or from the leaders of Congress.

Have we then at last reached a point where material complacency, "reasons of state," and a bloodless ideology of "anti-imperialist" progressivism have quite dried up our consciences and hearts? Can we no longer recognize that it is not men fighting for freedom but the legions of Hell that are today loose in those North African villages?

The confident, stocky man whom three days after the massacre we welcomed to our living rooms for an hour does not mistake those legions. For it was he who called them forth, who equips and guides them, subject to their eternal master.

National Review Questionnaire

Test Your Bias

(Fill in each blank with the same word or words)

1. Do you oppose ———— because insufficient data are available to determine its ultimate effect on the human body?
2. Do you oppose ———— because the resultant physical damage, if any, may not develop for twenty to thirty years when it is too late to reverse the program?
3. Do you oppose ———— because the individual should not be subjected to physical injury by the State, even for the general good?
4. Do you oppose ———— because man should not tamper with the processes of nature?

Answer:

If you fill in "fluoridation," you are a Reactionary
If you fill in "nuclear experiments," you are a Liberal

Da Capo

From a recent issue of *Time and Tide*:

"A Northamptonshire magistrate who happens also to be manager of a primary school was rash enough to ask a prospective master whether he happened to be a member of the Communist Party. The chairman immediately ruled the question out of order: the clerk said sharply that such questions must never be asked: and the candidate said his Union wouldn't allow him to answer anyway.

"And so the whole extraordinary argument begins again—'monstrous interference with liberty of thought' . . . 'McCarthyism' . . . 'Freedom of political and religious views' . . . and so on. *In an age of ideological wars I should have thought we would by now have abandoned the curious theory that a man's political and philosophical beliefs have no bearing on what he actually does.*"

Our Contributors: SYLVESTER PETRO, ("The Right to Join— or Not") a specialist in labor law, is professor of law at New York University. He has recently published *The Labor Policy of the Free Society*. . . . COLM BROGAN ("England's Upper-Class Proletcult") is one of the best-known and most erudite of Britain's conservative journalists. He is the author of *Our New Masters* and other books.

NATIONAL TRENDS

L. BRENT BOZELL

The Mask of Gloom

In the last two weeks, the prospects of keeping Communist China politically quarantined have taken a sharp turn for the worse. The Taipei riot is partly responsible: those who have led the fight against recognizing the Peiping regime and against seating Mao's representatives at the UN—the Knowland camp — have suddenly been put on the defensive by the need to explain and justify the activities of the Nationalist government. Of far greater moment, however, is the British decision to relax the strategic trade embargo against China and the apathetic reaction to that decision in the United States.

The British action was, of course, expected by our government. London has been agitating for resumption of the formerly profitable China trade ever since the Korean war. Last April, at the Bermuda Conference, Mr. Macmillan put President Eisenhower on notice of Britain's determination to scrap the strict embargo —in defiance, if need be, of Washington's wishes. Execution of the British policy was only a matter of time—time granted to the Eisenhower Administration to decide what public face it would wear when the decision was announced.

The long, gloomy one was selected. "The United States government," the State Department said, "is most disappointed." Which was, up to a point, true. But the reasons for the Administration's chagrin are not the obvious ones.

Note the official reaction to a strictly analogous development three years ago. In the summer of 1954, the U.S.'s maritime allies (led also in that instance by Great Britain) insisted upon disembargoing *the same strategic items* with respect to trade with the Soviet Union and the Communist bloc in Eastern Europe that have now been removed from the China embargo. The U.S. acquiesced, and the Department of Commerce trumpeted that the new agreement would "provide an increased trade in peaceful goods," and would "continue the embargo on those goods which are of importance to the military capacity of the Soviet bloc." Harold Stassen, the chief U.S. negotiator in that matter, was equally ebullient: "I am convinced that this revision, which has been . . . approved by the President, will result in a net advantage to the free world of expanded peaceful trade and more effective control of the war potential items." Yet the absurdity suggested here—that the U.S. government is in favor of shipping strategic materials to the major Communist power, but adamantly opposed to letting a secondary Communist power get the same goods, is not what the U.S. government is guilty of.

Actually, the Administration feels more or less the same about both situations. It knows perfectly well that the disembargoed materials are highly strategic—that the high precision machine tools, metals, electronic and transportation equipment in question were put on the original Battle Act embargo precisely because they are essential to the construction of a modern war machine. Other things being equal, the Administration would prefer that such materials be denied to the Communist world. But other things are not equal: there are the commercial demands of the U.S.'s allies, and, at the margin, the argument for honoring those demands has a prior slot on the Administration's scale of strategic values.

Nor do Administration officials put much stock in their highly touted "differential" theory. The argument that China should be given slimmer rations than Russia so as to place a "burden on the Communist transportation system" is not taken too seriously; it is largely a makeshift for justifying a policy that is inconsistent for non-strategic, *i.e.*, domestic public-relations reasons.

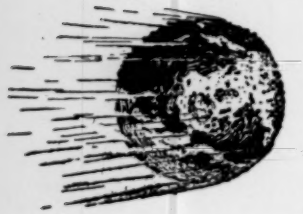
Administration tactics, in the case of trade with the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, were to keep the terms of the deal secret, to furnish the public with euphemistic, misleading generalizations. But in due time the McCarthy-McClellan Committee caught on and, last spring, exposed the shenanigans. The Administration eventually rode out the storm that followed—but not without leaving some of Messrs. Stassen's, Week's and Hollister's blood on the floor.

Under the circumstances, concealment could not be attempted a second time. And since the truth had to be brought out, it was of cardinal importance to accommodate the supposed hypersensitivity of the American people on the subject of Red China. That is why the U.S was "most disappointed" about the British decision.

The Liberal commentators are quite correct: the Eisenhower Administration has held the line on Red China—not because it believes there are cogent reasons for doing business with Soviet Russia and not with Soviet China, but because it has feared a public scandal. Witness the extraordinary pains taken by the Administration to blunt the reaction to the trade decision—e.g., in asking the British to make their announcement while Congress was recessed.

A needless precaution. For the anticipated storm was a whisper. True, Senator Knowland took the floor when the Senate reconvened and blasted the decision; but he stood alone. In the House, only a few mild protests were raised. Out over the land, it appeared that the American people could not have cared less.

Is popular hostility toward Red China wearing thin? Many State Department officials now believe so. Accordingly, there is serious talk of stepping up the time-table for normalizing Peiping-Washington relations. Specifically, the Administration is considering the possibility of letting the UN admission issue come to a vote at the Assembly next fall, instead of waiting until 1958. What the Administration has in mind is a deal by which Red China's credentials would be accepted by the UN in exchange for an understanding by Mao to respect the independence of Taiwan— which the U.S. would like to keep as a military base.



The THIRD WORLD WAR

JAMES BURNHAM

True Premises, False Conclusion

Just what has been the error in our policy toward Yugoslavia?—for it is demonstrable that there has been an error. Tito is today politically closer to Moscow than in the period following his original break. Internally Yugoslavia remains Communist. In foreign policy, Tito sided with the West just once: in 1948, when he closed the Yugoslav border to the Greek Communists.

Washington's basic error was, I think, its failure to distinguish between Tito and the Yugoslav nation. The nation wanted a break with Moscow's empire *and* with Communism national and international. Tito has been merely jockeying for factional advantage *within* a national and international Communist system.

The paths toward these diverse objectives coincided for a very short part of the way. Thereafter the continuing struggle of the nation for independence and freedom was a struggle against Tito as well as Moscow.

The State Department was right in believing that the original breach opened up a favoring opportunity. But the Western governments, led by Washington, backed Tito *not* the Yugoslav nation and peoples; and this meant, inevitably, backing Tito against the nation and peoples. It was Washington's unconditional political support and material aid that permitted Tito to refasten the loosened Communist yoke on the nation's neck.

There is danger that we are about to recommit our error.

The Polish October

Few countries have experienced within a single year changes so dramatic as those that took place in Poland during 1956.

Although the Church is still restricted organizationally, public religious worship became again free. In October religious education re-entered the schools from which it had been banned for a decade.

Eighty per cent of the hated farm collectives were liquidated. Compulsory delivery of farm products was abolished for small farms, and the percentage reduced for larger.

Small-scale merchants (with fewer than five employees) and artisans (cobblers, carpenters, tailors, etc.) resumed private business.

The political police was abolished, with 90 per cent of its members ousted altogether from government jobs. Sentencing by "administrative tribunal" (instead of due process) was virtually ended, and most of the concentration camps closed. Instead of Poles being exiled to the Soviet camps, tens of thousands of exiles returned to Poland.

Tourists, including thousands of private persons from Western countries, were permitted to travel without supervision. For the first time in the history of any Communist nation, some ordinary citizens were allowed to travel abroad as private tourists.

The limits on free speech, though not removed, have been broadened. There has been vigorous public debate over esthetic, economic, religious and political problems.

And a new government was formed last October in flat defiance of the chief Soviet leaders, flown in from Moscow, and backed by the threatening deployment of Soviet occupation troops.

Gomulka or Poland?

These changes—if they can last and deepen—are enormous gains, for Poland and in possible effect for the free world. But they were not brought nor will they be preserved by Gomulka.

It was the pressure of the Polish peasants, workers, students and intellectuals, operating against a leadership weakened in the aftermath of Stalin's death, that forced these changes, and in doing so forced out the discredited Stalinist chiefs. Gomulka, a professional Communist who was a factional victim of the Stalinists, rode the mass wave.

Like all professional Communists, Gomulka is an atheist, a collectivist, a despiser of "bourgeois" (*i.e.*, Western) civilization, which he, like all Communists, believes to be irrevocably doomed. Nothing in theory or the record suggests that he aims to take Poland out of the Communist imperial system, or that his acceptance of the currently revived freedoms is in his mind more than a temporary "concession" (like Lenin's NEP tactic) to "backward" mass pressures and capitalist hangovers.

Gomulka maneuvers to rebuild the fractured Party control over the country, and about four months ago began what for a trained Communist must be the first step: re-establishment of Party unity and discipline. When the Party is again a reliable monolithic instrument, he can get down to work on the nation.

To strengthen Gomulka by giving him unconditional material aid and political support is thus to play into the enemy's hands. We will further the struggle for Poland's independence and freedom only by finding ways to support the Polish nation and people against Gomulka as well as against Khrushchev—a task more difficult than handing Warsaw a blank check for a hundred million, but not impossible.

To solve Gomulka's foreign exchange crisis, to re-equip the state-owned mines, factories and big collectives, or to play up Gomulka as a hero of freedom is to grease the Communist tactic. If we wish to help Poland (and ourselves) instead of Gomulka, we might try (with or without Gomulka's consent, which he might not be able to withhold) such moves as these: to send in implements suited to small individual farms, tools for the reappearing but unequipped artisans, books for the students, food and clothing (through Cardinal Wyszinski's relief organization, perhaps) for the exiles returning from Russia; to promote experimentally some private business relations, and some student and cultural exchanges on a non-political basis; to denounce every backward move by Gomulka; to press internationally for an end to the Red Army occupation.

The Right to Join—or Not

Professor Petro cuts straight through the current rhubarb about organized Labor. The real trouble, he finds, is coercion of workers by the unions

SYLVESTER PETRO

Reinhold Niebuhr has recently said that any proponent of right-to-work laws must be either a knave or a fool. And the Rev. Jerome L. Toner, O.S.B., Dean of Industrial Relations at St. Martin's College, lays down essentially the same charge in more extensive fashion. He says that the right-to-work laws are "public frauds," and that the title itself involves an unforgivable abuse of language. But Father Edward A. Keller of Notre Dame has taken a different view in a comprehensive analysis of the subject. Lacking canonical authority, I am confined to dealing with the issue in terms of logic, law, history and, to some extent, economics.

It might have been better had the language of labor law never been enriched by the terms "right-to-work laws," "yellow-dog contracts," and so on. Few such terms are accurately descriptive of the matter which they are supposed to convey, and as a consequence analysis has been impaired by inevitable, and unproductive, semantic difficulty. Perhaps even more important, the emotional overtones of such terms have tended to preclude cool evaluation of the complicated policy issues which labor relations present.

I should like to offer another designation: *free-employee-choice laws.*

The term "free-employee-choice laws" is accurately and naturally descriptive of the laws and proposals in question; it focuses attention on their essential features; and it has a sound, deeper meaning in terms of the development of labor policy.

The term is naturally descriptive. The laws in question make the employee's choice as regards union membership prevail over the alleged desires of employers to discourage, and of unions to compel, union membership (see box). The term focuses attention on the essential features of the laws. Whatever anyone may say about them, these laws do not discourage union membership. Quite the contrary, they make union membership irrelevant in a man's search for, or retention of, a job. The individual worker—not the employer and not the union—is the primary and essential concern; his choice, not theirs, is what these laws promote.

This principle of free employee choice has a tremendous appeal to the people of the United States. Over a period of forty or fifty years there has been a massive development and shift in labor policy. What has emerged from it all has been a decision that the freely choosing individual is the primary concern of policy. That this should have been the product of representative government in a society whose strongest tradition is personal freedom should really not be surprising. Any other would have been a cause for alarm.

Coercion Works Two Ways

Now, as to the merits of free-employee-choice laws, it seems to me that one's position on them must be determined by one's view of the laws forbidding anti-union coercion by employers. The person who favors laws forbidding anti-union coercion is obliged by all acceptable considerations of law, logic, and policy, I submit, necessarily to favor the outlawing of *every* form of compulsory unionism. If one is against laws forbidding anti-union coercion, he may with some logic also argue against laws forbidding compulsory unionism, although, as I shall try to show, the latter are less acceptable as a matter of logic and policy than the former. But the person who objects to laws forbidding compulsory unionism while favoring laws forbidding anti-union coercion has not a leg to stand on.

If the closed-shop arrangement is less "voluntary" than the anti-union agreement, it is also much less like a traditional, legal contract. In fact, compulsory unionism fits much better into legislative than into consensual categories. The actual contract of employment is the agreement between the employer and the individual employee, under standard and unassailable current legal theory. The "collective agreement" is really not a contract at all in the traditional sense. It establishes conditions which are to be read into all the true, individual employment contracts. As such it is like a legislative decree, which contracting parties are required by force to incorporate into their contracts. Like wage and hour legislation, it defines terms and conditions of employment from which employers and employees may not depart without incurring legal penalties. It is a rule imposed by one group—the union—to govern the conduct of other persons, namely employers and employees. But your true contract is a rule made by two or more parties to govern only their own conduct.

Perceiving this, some unionists have come to consider themselves legislators. The plain fact is, of course, that they are not; they are not duly constituted legislative authorities. They are only trying to arrogate such authority to themselves. We must not allow ourselves to be confused by this arbitrary claim of authority. We must concentrate upon *the fact* that the compulsory-unionism agreement is nowhere near as close to a true contract as the anti-union agreement between employer and employee is; and upon *the conclusion* that it is therefore not as clearly entitled to legal respect on the basis of the long-run social interest in enforcing true contracts.

These considerations lead straight to the heart of the current contro-

versy over the employee-free-choice laws. When an employer insisted upon an anti-union contract, he offered in return something that the employee obviously wanted—a job at prevailing wages and working conditions. He did not force the employee to ask for work; and, whatever some employers and trade-unionists may think, he also did not "dictate" wages and working conditions. These were and are dictated by consumers, ultimately, when they decide upon the amount they are willing to pay for the employer's product. More immediately they are determined by conditions on the market and the productivity of the economy as a whole. When employers say, as some have said, that they pay whatever wages they wish to pay, they are either kidding themselves or being victimized by demagogic propaganda. Let employers offer less than prevailing wages, and see how many workers they will get, and what kind of workers.

The "Free Riders" Argument

But, trade unionists contend, "we confer positive benefits upon employees; we are obliged by law to bargain in behalf of all employees in any bargaining unit we represent. Simple fairness therefore requires that if we must bargain for all, and if we do secure benefits for all, then all employees should have to contribute to our support. Otherwise, they are 'free riders,' and no one in that category deserves any consideration."

The logic is ingenious but not solid. The law does indeed declare that a union selected by a majority of employees in any bargaining unit is the exclusive representative of all employees in that unit, whether union members or not. But this provision is not accurately analyzed as a penalty on unions and a benefit for non-union employees. It is the contrary—a benefit to unions and a penalty to non-union employees. Essentially it negates the right of non-union employees to bargain for themselves. The principle of exclusive representative status is something which trade unionists have sought long and vigorously. They would be up in arms if any one proposed its repeal.

What the unionists are trying to do, then, is to argue perversely that a special privilege and benefit which they very much want is actually a burden and a duty for which they should be compensated. Unmasked, they wish to place a double burden upon non-union employees; they wish to negate not only the right of a man to make his own employment contract but also his right to join or not to join a union. This is a most extreme form of the untenable argument that two wrongs make a right. It is worse than the tenants' argument for rent controls "because there are farm subsidies." It is like tenants under rent controls arguing that landlords should have to improve their properties because conditions under rent controls tend to keep tenants from moving to more convenient and desirable lodgings.

How much do unions do for employees? If we are thinking of all employees, present and potential, in the economy, and of all average real wages and working conditions, the answer is clear: nothing positively beneficial and, quite probably, the reverse. According to disinterested statistical research, wage trends in this country and trends of union growth have varied independently. Wages have gone up constantly at more or less the same rate, during periods of non-unionism as well as periods of union contraction or expansion. Sometimes wages have gone up at a slightly greater rate during union contraction; sometimes at a slightly less rate. The converse has obtained at times. These are the findings, so far as I can ascertain, of *all* recent disinterested statistical research.

If we shift from all employment, and all wages, to employment in solidly unionized sectors of the economy, the findings are indeterminate and can be interpreted only with the guidance of economic theory. There is a distinct probability that in some unionized sectors real wages have gone up more than they would have in the absence of union action. On the other hand, real wages in unionized sectors have not always had a steeper rate of climb than those in non-unionized sectors. Theory declares that where real wages climb above the level they would reach in free market conditions, under-production and under-employment must necessarily ensue. Common sense observation reaches the same result. When workers insist on wages too high for market conditions, and get them, some unemployment is the necessary consequence. The victims have to go elsewhere for jobs; and when they do, they bring wages down in the area where they come to rest.

This analysis suggests that unions do nothing wage-wise for employees on the whole, and that, in fact, in creating unemployment, they harm employees on the whole. One reaches the same result by asking what contribution unions make, as such, to the productivity of the economy.

Many unions rather plainly do nothing—less than nothing—in terms of productivity; many direct their efforts to reducing it. The better unions try to interfere as little as they can in the efforts of employers and investors to improve productivity. But, in any event, productivity is a function of capital growth and allocation, not of trade-union conduct. The most that trade unions as such can do to help is to refrain from antiproductive conduct and propaganda.

Yet no one has any particular authority to insist that unions have a responsibility to increase productivity or that, if they do not increase it, they should be "abolished." The right to form or join a union is a right of every free man in a free society. To abolish that right is to make society less free. Again, having formed a union, workers have no obligation to make increased productivity even a minor concern of the union, any more than there is an obligation in a beach club or a golf club to make better swimmers and golfers. Unions, golf clubs and beach clubs may, if they wish, spend their energies in the promotion of indolence and idleness. But no such organization can have a right to force people to belong to it or to follow its program.

The one thing that no voluntary association may be allowed to become in a free society is a compulsory association. If it is allowed compulsory powers it becomes an arm of the state. And if that happens, all the most cherished and most basic principles of democracy, representative government, and personal freedom have been sacrificed. After these have been sacrificed, most Americans will find themselves living in a society not to their liking.

When insisting, long ago, upon the outlawry of anti-union contracts, trade unionists emphasized the power which employers had over workers. The charge was that employees had only one alternative — starvation. What, then, is the condition of the worker who seeks employment under compulsory unionism?

Whose Compulsion?

According to the trade unionists, compulsory unionism exerts no significant pressure; if an employee doesn't wish to join the union he can always seek work elsewhere. But is not this precisely the line of argument which, when advanced by employers in defense of anti-union contracts, the unionists laughed out of court? More important, is it not the case that compulsory-unionism conditions more rigorously restrict the alternatives available to employees than anti-union contracts did or could?

As a matter of *fact*, industry-wide control of job opportunities by any single employer is and always has been virtually nonexistent. What the unions *say* is true under compulsory unionism, really exists so far as *employers* are concerned. If an employee wished not to sign an anti-union contract with an employer he could always seek work elsewhere—*usually in the same industry*—and, very likely, find it. Furthermore, if all employers in any industry joined in a blacklisting combination against union men, they would be in legal trouble. Even in common-law days, blacklisting combinations by employers were frowned upon. They were positively unlawful under the Sherman Act. (Today, of course, *any* kind of anti-union coercion by employers is prohibited.)

The case is different under compulsory unionism. Whereas industry-wide employer control does not exist, industry-wide unionism is even today the general rule, and *universal* industry-wide unionization is the long-run goal. Moreover, the unions which most vociferously object to the free-employee-choice laws are the ones which most vigorously seek to impose universal compulsory unionism. They may argue now that compulsory unionism does not negate all alternatives for employees. But if they are permitted to have compulsory unionism, and if they succeed in perfecting their control of all job opportunities in all industries, as they frankly aim to do, how will they argue then? Will they at that time concede that they should not have compulsory-unionism powers? Surely not. If past performance is any indication, they will then find some other reason for insisting that they need compulsory unionism more than ever.

It is the public policy of the state that membership or nonmembership in a labor organization shall not be made a condition to the right to work or to become an employee of or to continue in the employment of any employer; that employees shall have the right of self-organization and the right to form, join, continue membership in, or assist labor organizations; and that employees shall equally have the right to refrain from forming, joining, continuing membership in, or assisting labor organizations . . . .

Indiana Right-to-Work Law

As a matter of fact, we can operate on the assumption that unions right now have virtually universal industry-wide powers which would give them effective control of all employment if they were permitted to have compulsory unionism. How many real alternatives do workers have in the manufacturing, mining, transport, printing, and construction industries? The answer is, as a practical matter, *almost none*. Almost everywhere a worker goes in such industries he finds a union in power, or on the way to it. If compulsory unionism were permitted, what would the employee's condition be?

If the particular employee did not like the way his union was run, and said the leaders were crooks, the chances are he would be expelled. Under compulsory unionism his expulsion from the union would necessitate discharge from employment as well. Where would he go? And similarly if he tried to organize or join a competing union, or if he antagonized the ruling union powers by running against them for union office, or if he didn't like the political views expressed by his union leaders, or if he thought the union's bargaining position was unsound, or if he refused to join in a strike, picketing, or boycott plan. Expulsions for these and a good many other kinds of insurgency are a matter of record. If unions were allowed universal compulsory-unionism powers, where would such employees go? What would become of them? To what extent could they be called free men?

The plain conclusion is that no society priding itself upon its interest in personal freedom can accept the principle of compulsory unionism. Perhaps as a matter of the sheerest abstract theory, compulsory unionism would be of no particular concern if industry-wide unionism were not a characteristic of the economy. But so long as such unionism is both characteristic of the situation at present and the avowed long-run goal, compulsory unionism *in every form* has to be rejected. And this means the rejection not only of every form of compulsory-unionism "contract" between unions and employers, but also of all the various types of pressure action, such as organizational picketing, by means of which unions are daily coercing unwilling employees to accept unions as their bargaining representatives.

The probability is that hundreds of thousands of workers are union members today only because one or another pressure device by unions has made them such. If employees are relieved of such pressure, perhaps industry-wide unionization will no longer be characteristic of the economy.

If and when that happens, compulsory-unionism contracts will no longer present the biting challenge to our national integrity that they do now. When each union can show that it is the free choice of the employees it represents—when it can show that it did not force them to join by coercive, monopolistic pressures—a request for compulsory-unionism privileges may be given serious attention. But when unions can show that, they won't be asking for compulsory unionism, because they won't be needing it.

(Reprints of "The Right to Join—or Not" are available at 15 cents each, 100 for $10.00. Address Department R, NATIONAL REVIEW, *211 East 37th St., New York 16, N.Y.)*

Letter from the Continent

E. v. KUEHNELT-LEDDIHN

France and Algeria

France, at the present moment, is in a stage of complete reconstruction: the France of yesterday is being buried; a new France is emerging.

This produces puzzling situations. M. Coty, a practicing Catholic residing in the Palais de l'Élyseé, is received by the Pope. The Papal Swiss Guard band plays the Marseillaise. No fewer than 18,000 Parisian students make a two-day pilgrimage to Chartres on foot, among them Mohammedans, Jews, Protestants, agnostics, existentialists. Strikes follow upon strikes, and yet the French workers are the most highly paid in Western Europe (excluding Switzerland). There is a feeling of renewed patriotism, of national fervor; but the people—high and low—despise the state and its laws. France is still called a country of the old; but its birth rate is phenomenally high (higher than that of Italy) and all forecasts made by demographers twelve years ago can be discarded.

Yet while France is recovering from her more recent vicissitudes, the frightening question of Algeria's future is becoming more and more difficult to answer.

In this tragedy two factors are of basic importance: France's low birth rate before World War One, and her lack of interest in emigration. Had the French, since they conquered Algeria in 1830, poured fifty thousand emigrants a year into this North African possession, it would today contain a French majority instead of a minority of about 12 per cent.

Algeria forms legally a part of France, but it has some sort of local government. The Moslems insist that their country was conquered by brute force; that it has been ruthlessly exploited; that the French colonist is a harsh, unfriendly, immensely arrogant fellow treating the "natives" with contempt; that the age of "colonialism" is over; that the French Army, fighting the Fellaghas, admittedly has committed atrocities; that Algeria, wedged between Morocco and Tunisia, belongs integrally in a North African Union; that the "victorious" French ought to be eliminated from the Dark Continent in 1957, just like the "defeated" Italians in 1945.

There can be no doubt that the establishment of an independent "Kingdom of Libya," owing to British and American "anti-colonialism," started a chain reaction which shook the entire European position in North Africa. The Italian administration in Libya, besides committing mistakes, had done wonders: from the point of view of "progressiveness," as well as of political liberalism, colonial government was always ahead of native government.

And here now are the French counterclaims. The majority of the French insist that Algeria, like the rest of Northwest Africa, would never have been developed and "humanized" without French aid; that the Arabs and Berbers would live in a world of political tyranny, disease, ignorance, slavery, and all-round injustice if the French had not conquered the area (though, admittedly, they did not come as liberators); that a very large sector of the native population dreads the establishment of native rule, which would be chaotic, tyrannical, or both; that this is proved by the sadistic mass assassinations and mutilations of Moslems (who constitute the vast majority of the victims of the Fellagha); that to desert the one and a quarter million Frenchmen who have lived in Algeria for several generations would be a terrible betrayal; that the return of these tough, energetic, and hard-working settlers to metropolitan France would not only create an economic but also a political problem of the first order.

Many Frenchmen think that they have an obligation to these fellow-Frenchmen as well as to the Algerian Jews and to the vast masses of natives who, in the past, have been loyal to France and still continue to prefer French government to the rule of outlaws. Red aid and Egyptian support given to the Fellaghas are on indisputable record. France, moreover, has made great financial investments in Algeria and is thinking seriously of exploiting the large natural resources of the Sahara. The native population of North Africa has neither the technical knowledge nor the moral fibre nor the industry to undertake so vast an enterprise. (The Italian conquest of parts of the Libyan desert is now being unmade by nature and human inertia.)

Of the two lines of argument, the French is the stronger. However, Algeria creates a division of French opinion, a schism in families, in political groups, in Catholic circles, and even in the Army. One is almost reminded of the Dreyfus case, which had a similar dividing effect. The atrocities committed by the French Army and the gendarmerie are undeniable and, in a way, unavoidable since unspeakable atrocities are being carried out systematically by the other side. No French Government can sign the death warrant for a French Establishment in a part of North Africa which legally forms part of France. Though the opposition to the Algerian policy of the late Mollet Government was strong, only a left-of-center minority insists on withdrawal, mostly people who claim that the French North Africans are "fascist-minded." (But would not their return to metropolitan France be the beginning of a French fascism? Isn't it always the embittered expellee who starts the "national revival"?)

If the key to appeasement is in Morocco and in Tunisia, whose govments give the most direct support to the Fellaghas, then a deal with these two practically independent nations seems to be the way out. There remain Nasser and Moscow. Nasser is none too popular in Northwest Africa. A "Western Mediterranean League," consisting of the three North African regions and their three European counterparts (Spain, France and Italy), has been ventilated. It might be the royal road to the exploitation of the Sahara. But whether this change would paralyze the Fellaghas and their Egyptian-Soviet backers is by no means certain.

England's Upper-Class Proletcult

"If you can't lick 'em, join 'em," is the American way of expressing the British upper-class answer to the Socialist challenge

COLM BROGAN

Both the major political parties in Britain are having internal trouble of a rather unusual kind: a dispute over the kind of person to be selected to stand for Parliament.

As usual, discontent is more openly expressed among the Socialists than among Tories. The trade unions deliver the bulk of the Socialist vote and also provide the bulk of the Socialist cash; which makes it not unreasonable that they should provide also the bulk of the candidates. That is how it used to be. There were safe Socialist seats all over the country where a prominent and respected and slightly elderly trade union boss could confidently expect that the moral and financial support of his union would enable him to transfer his lumbago to the House of Commons with not much demanded of him except to vote with frequent decency and always for the good cause.

Those days are gone. In one constituency after another, the selection committees are choosing eggheads with fancy accents and fancy education whose only record of manual labor is an occasional mowing of the family tennis court. The horny-handed sons of toil are being steadily ignored in favor of the horny-spectacled sons of the upper middle class or even the upper class.

The leaders of the big unions have made their displeasure forcibly known, but there is nothing they can do about it. The trade union candidates are being turned down for the simple and sufficient reason that they are just not good enough.

The reason why they are not good enough is also quite simple. Sixty years ago a clever and enterprising boy of the working class had almost no chance at all of getting a higher education. Because of this deprivation they made their way in the world through the trade unions, educating themselves as they went along. Ernest Bevin was the prime example: he learned to read and write in Sunday school, but he became the head of the biggest union in Britain. Keir Hardie, who founded the Labor Party, taught himself to read and write by the light of a miner's lamp at the bottom of a pit. Such were the men who shaped both the unions and the British Labor Party in the first half of the century.

Today, any youth of quite modest attainments can be railroaded right through to the end of a university course without the cost of a single penny to his parents. During his university years he receives an income which not only pays for his tuition and books, but also keeps him in bed, board and clothing with something left for entertainment.

Some day the Communists will discover that this free and subsidized education was a cunning device of the capitalists to bleed the working class of its talent. And if that was not the intention, it certainly is the consequence. The brightest of the proletariat are being educated into the middle class, and union leadership among the younger men is already suffering from intellectual anemia. Hence the failure of the union candidates to please the selection committees.

The New Eggheads

The men who do win the approval of the selection committees would certainly not win the approval of Keir Hardie. The Founding Father of the Labor Party freely admitted that the party had a place for intellectuals, but it was a subordinate place. He welcomed them as trained theorists and experts on matters which the working man had never had the opportunity to master. In his view, they were much like the Phanariots in Egypt of long ago; and they were mostly contented to accept that role—quite happy to be the back-room boys and girls who would tell the working-class M.P.'s what to say and think. It is inconceivable that the fastidious and arrogant Beatrice Webb would have consented to submit to the vulgarities of a Parliamentary contest; and the greatest of her objections would have been the fear of having to mix with the working-class Socialist members if she had been elected.

But the new eggheads are not fastidious at all. They have moved into the Socialist Party in obedience to the deepest instinct of the English ruling class. Whatever may be said against that class, it must be conceded that the survival value is spectacularly high. Whenever the members of that class decide that a new power in the State has become too strong to be ignored or slapped

down, they move in and take it over.

The standard-bearer for the downtrodden starvelings in the by-election at North Lewisham was the son of an eminent legal family, who was not only an Old Boy of Rugby but had studied both at Oxford and Cambridge for overflowing measure. The spokesman for the party of class, pride and privilege was the product of a local proletarian school. The paradox of their contrasting social backgrounds annoyed the union leaders, but it made no difference. The gentleman Socialist might look like a fancy cowboy on a dude political ranch; but he was elected all the same.

The happiest illustration of the new social change is to be found in Essex where two neighboring constituencies return a Socialist and a Conservative member. Not only are the Socialist and the Conservative both public school boys—they are brothers-in-law. The political instinct of the English ruling class is something to be regarded with awe.

There has been mounting pressure within the Tory Party for increased Parliamentary representation of the kind of people who really run the party at constituency level—people of very modest social and educational background. The number of M.P.'s of this kind has increased, and will go on increasing, and the fair number of such men already in Parliament have formed a loose group to present the claims of their own kind to important places in the Conservative Government. Willing to admit that Eton is an excellent school, they are certainly not willing to admit that it produces three fourths of the political talent of the country.

Unpretentious Tories

In most constituencies, the Tory selection committees sympathize with this view. They favor a candidate who is middle-class like themselves, educated, with a pleasant voice and manner, married, firm without being aggressive, and preferably a member of the Church of England. In other words, they want a man (not a woman) of their own social kind. A former public schoolboy may fit the bill, but an Old Boy of some totally unpretentious school may fit it quite as well; and the proportion of socially unpretentious candidates is gradually increasing to accord with the shift in the center of gravity within the party.

But there are still constituencies, and these the safest, where the selection committee is dominated by dowagers and retired brigadiers who have not yet wakened to the fact that membership of the House of Commons is not equivalent to membership of a good club. The most impregnable Tory seat in England has just been presented to a young man of means, a Harrovian and Oxonian, who is twenty-six years old and has not had the chance of making any impact of any kind on the world at large. Nevertheless, he has been given a political sinecure that will keep him in Parliament, untroubled, for the rest of his life.

The social prejudices of selection committees in plush constituencies are reflected in the composition of the annual Conservative Conference. The six thousand delegates who occupy the floor of the hall on this occasion are indistinguishable from the delegates to the Socialist Conference. But the platform is still almost a selection from the peerage and plutocracy. That, also, is being increasingly resented; and there can be no doubt that the ruling class will obligingly accept some degree of social dilution —even, in the end, in the Cabinet.

But the ruling class will still be very much there, in both parties. The reason is simple. England is by no means a caste country: the degree of social mobility might surprise the American observer. But England is incurably a class country. It is a class country because all classes *want* it that way. Socialists will cheerfully vote for an upper-class candidate but they will react strongly if he pretends to be other than he is. Tories will vote for a lower-class candidate, so long as he does not ape the manners of the gentry.

The subtlest of class distinctions are the solvent of English society. "So it always was, and it still shall be."

Rhymes Under the Influence of Miltown

Inspiration

Keats heard a nightingale and Shelley heard a lark—
And their pens flamed to beauty from the magic of the spark.
And when Tennessee Williams hears the music of the birds,
He writes a dirty play with *lots*
And *lots* and *lots* and *lots* and *lots*
And *lots* and *lots* and *lots* and *lots*

And *lots* of dirty words.

Sybarite's Philosophy

A follower of Omar[1] through the years,
I took the cash and let the credit go:
A wasteful way of living, it appears,
And yet it is the only way I know.

Aesop and Franklin[2] preached that I was wrong:
They warned of Rainy Days and Age and Debt—
But I was lured by Omar and his song—
And now the rains are here, and am I wet!

Too old to change, I go the self-same way
(Pass, friend, and shed a tear to show your sorrow):
I turn on Fulton Lewis every day
And put off hearing Murrow till tomorrow.

MORRIE RYSKIND

[1] *Not* Bradley
[2] *Not* Roosevelt

Parkinson Looks at Retirement: I

All the R-age

The Economist[1] has secured rights to another startling discovery by the author of Parkinson's Law.

Some recent events have raised in our minds the question: at what age should a man retire? This problem has been the subject of many commissions of inquiry, but the evidence heard has always been hopelessly conflicting. Where the retirement age is fixed at 65, successors of the man who retires will always have found, by experience, that mental powers and energy show signs of flagging at 62.

This would be a most useful conclusion to have reached had not a different phenomenon been observed in organizations where the age of retirement has been fixed at 60. There, we are told, people are found to lose their grip, in some degree, at the age of 57. Similarly, all men whose retiring age is 55 are known to be past their best at 52. It would seem, in short, that efficiency declines at the age of R minus 3, irrespective of the age at which R has been fixed. This is an interesting fact in itself, but not directly helpful when it comes to deciding what the R-age is to be.

It may, however, serve to suggest that the investigations hitherto pursued have been on the wrong lines. Let us therefore struggle to set them along the right ones. The fact is that the age of retirement should not be related in any way to the man whose retirement we are considering. It is his successor we have to watch.

According to our researches, a business man will pass through the following stages in a successful career:

(1) Age of qualification = Q
(2) Age of promotion = P (Q + 10)
(3) Age of authority = A (P + 8)
(4) Age of achievement = AA (A + 7)
(5) Age of distinction = D (AA + 9)
(6) Age of dignity = DD (D + 6)
(7) Age of wisdom = W (DD + 3)
(8) Age of obstruction = OO (W+7, which is also Q+50)

The above scale is governed by the value of Q, which is to be understood as a technical term. It does not mean that a man at Q knows anything of the business he will have to transact. It is the age at which a professional or business career begins, usually after an elaborate training which has proved profitable only to those paid for organizing it. It will be seen that if Q = 22, our business man (let us call him X) will not reach 00 (the age of obstruction) until he is 72. So far as his own efficiency is concerned, there is no valid reason for replacing him until he is 71. But our problem centers not on him but on Y, his destined successor. How are the ages of X and Y likely to compare? To be more exact, how old will X have been when Y first entered the department or firm?

This problem has been the subject of prolonged investigation. Our inquiries have tended to prove that the age-gap between X and Y is exactly fifteen years. (It is not, we find, the normal practice for the son to succeed the father directly). Taking this average of fifteen years, and assuming that Q = 22, we find that Y will have reached AA (the age of achievement) at 47, when X is only 62. And that, clearly, is where the crisis occurs. For Y, if thwarted in his ambition through X still retaining control, enters, it has been proved, a different series of stages in his career, following upon stage 3. These stages are as follows:

(4) Age of frustration (F) = A +7
(5) Age of jealousy (J) = F + 9
(6) Age of resignation (R) = J +4
(7) Age of oblivion (O) = R + 5

When X, therefore, is 72, Y is 57, just entering on the age of resignation. Should X at last retire at that age, Y is quite unfit to take his place, being now resigned (after a decade of frustration and jealousy) to a career of mediocrity. For Y, opportunity will have come just ten years too late.

The age of frustration will not always be the same in years, depending as it does on the factor Q, but its symptoms are easy to recognize. The man who is denied the opportunity of taking decisions of importance begins to regard as important the decisions he is allowed to take. He becomes fussy about filing, keen on seeing that pencils are sharpened, eager to ensure that the windows are open (or shut) and apt to use two or three different colored inks. The age of jealousy reveals itself in an emphasis upon seniority. "After all, I am still somebody." "I was never consulted." "Z has very little experience." But that period gives place to the age of resignation. "I am not one of these ambitious types." "Z is welcome to a seat on the Board—more trouble than it is worth, I should say."

The theory has been advanced that the age of frustration is also marked by an interest in local politics. It is now known, however, that men enter local politics solely as a result of being unhappily married. It will be apparent, however, from the other symptoms described, that the man still in a subordinate position at 47 (or equivalent) will never be fit for anything else.

The problem, it is now clear, is to make X retire at the age of 60, while still able to do the work better than anyone else. The immediate change may be for the worse but the alternative is to have no possible successor at hand when X finally goes. And the more outstanding X has proved to be, and the longer his period of office, the more hopeless is the task of replacing him. Those nearest him in seniority are already too old and have been subordinate for too long. All they can do is to block the way for anyone junior to them: a task in which they will certainly not fail. No competent successor will appear for years, nor at all until some crisis has brought a new leader to the fore.

So the hard decision has to be taken. Unless X goes in good time, the whole organization will eventually suffer. But how is X to be moved? For the benefit of our many readers now at the age of authority, but not yet in top command, an article next week will set down the modern, scientific, humane and uncounterable methods of how to get rid of the boss.

(To be concluded)

[1]Reprinted by permission of *The Economist* (London)

Letter from London

ANTHONY LEJEUNE

Creeping Slavery

"The multiplicity of laws," said Isocrates, "is a sign of bad government." No one seems to believe this any longer. Both Labor and Conservative Governments pride themselves on the amount of legislation they can put through Parliament. As all legislation means compelling somebody to do something, it requires no great political acumen to see what this means in terms of individual freedom.

The Labor Party has recently produced a whole series of policy statements, suggesting new legislation on every conceivable subject. Both the Government and the Opposition are now preparing elaborate "new look" policies for such large problems as pensions and industrial relations. While we're waiting for this fresh tide of legislation, it wouldn't be a bad idea to take a closer look at Britain's condition today.

The first and in many ways the most serious thing to realize is that we are still consuming the seed corn. While other countries, not only familiar rivals such as Germany and Japan but new competitors in Asia and Africa, are fast developing their resources, building up capital, growing and investing, we seem to have forgotten what a capitalist economy is about. Britons are emigrating because a strict ceiling has been clamped on their prospects here. Worse still, we are living on the incomes of our children and our grandchildren: they are in debt the moment they are born. National Insurance, for instance, was supposed to embody a contributory pensions scheme. In fact pensions are paid out of taxes levied on the working population. As the value of money declines and the ratio of pensioners to earners increases, those taxes will have to go up.

Whichever party is in power, nothing really halts the insatiable process of taxation. It's not only income tax and surtax and death duties: there's the tax on gasoline, the tax on movie seats, the tax on beer and matches, the tax on most of the goods sold in most of the shops, even the stamp when we write a check or a receipt. If we buy a car, we pay a third of the price to the government; if we buy a bottle of whiskey, we pay about six-sevenths of the price to the government.

People have been curiously slow to understand the political implications of this. It used to be a favorite argument with Socialists that there could be no freedom without economic independence. When the difference in wealth between employer and employee is very great, the employee becomes little better than a serf. Now that the state is the largest employer in Britain, the Socialists seem to have forgotten this, but it applies with much greater force to the state than it ever could to a private employer.

As governmental activity increases, the state demands more money; as it gets more money, it becomes more powerful compared to the individual. Every time I am compelled to give the state an extra shilling, the state increases its economic power over me by two shillings—the shilling it gets and the shilling I lose.

Those old-fashioned Socialists used to talk bitterly about "everyone being free to dine at the Ritz," but a good dinner isn't the only thing that depends on having money in your pocket. Everyone, for instance, is free to run an uneconomic newspaper, to fight an expensive action against compulsory purchase by the local authority, to organize a minority campaign which the government dislikes; but socialist policies on both sides of the House have steadily reduced the number of people in a position to take advantage of these freedoms. When the state has confiscated enough of the citizens' money, there is no need for it to forbid them to dine at the Ritz.

This bad tendency has been increased by wider economic factors. Britain is terrifyingly dependent on the rest of the world's confidence in the pound. This provides a further excuse for government control of industrial and financial policy. But how can any nation call itself free when the citizens are not allowed to leave the country taking their money with them? For seventeen years now, no Englishman has been allowed to visit the United States except on business or by the charity of his American friends.

Persistent inflation reduces our economic independence further and therefore draws the bonds tighter. The nationalized industries always take the lead in the inflationary race. The recent past has seen further rises in electricity prices and coal miners' wages; and the Court of Enquiry said a raise for the engineers had been rendered inevitable by the wage increase so readily granted to the railwaymen. The curious thing is that people still don't really undestand what's happening. The trade unions remember the slump and grab all the money they can while it's there to be seized. But workers on the continent, in Germany particularly, remember only too well what inflation means. They know, as the British unions do not, that acute inflation is a much worse evil than low wages or even a slump. The result is that German industry forges ahead while British industry stands still or slips back.

This all sounds very gloomy, but it's leading up to a question that increasingly I have wanted to ask: Is this process beginning in America?

I've read too much in American newspapers recently which reminds me of what was being written about inflation in Britain ten years ago. I've heard too much about a huge budget and the consequent increase in federal power. I've seen too many militant statements from American trade union leaders about the closed shop and their intention of securing higher wages irrespective of productivity in their particular industries. I've been told too much about the soaring national debt which now amounts to $1,660 for every American citizen.

Am I wrong about this? For the sake not only of America but of all the free world I hope passionately that I am.

ARTS and MANNERS

WILLIAM S. SCHLAMM

Eisenhower's Children's Crusade

Scientists are people who first build and then buy the Brooklyn Bridge. That much we know. What we do not know, or don't fully comprehend anyhow, is that our scientists in particular, and our intellectuals in general, are also unteachable. The youngsters who signed up for the Children's Crusades of another day—those, that is, who survived—presumably reached later a state of intelligent maturity. But no amount of experience helps our contemporary intellectuals to outgrow the kind of Children's Crusades in which they unfailingly engage whenever the magic whistle blows.

This time it's Disarmament. And, this time, the affair promises to develop into the greatest con game this century has seen. Let no one be fooled by the spectacularly poor casting of the Prologue, currently played in London. By choosing Mr. Stassen for the lead part, Mr. Eisenhower may have secured a decisive success for the gambit: precisely because nobody is prepared to ascribe to Mr. Stassen any sort of importance, he may bring home the bacon. Our intellectuals, at any rate, will not be alarmed by Mr. Stassen's notoriously inadequate equipment for saving the world. They have never considered the paucity of their own.

The other day, the popular clown of our Social Sciences, Dr. Gallup, asked that mysterious entity, The Public, whether they favor Atomic Disarmament *plus* International Control. Of course they did. But the special point I'd like to make in this context is that those with a college education were about twice as foolish as those who had been mercifully dismissed after elementary school. Now no one who's read this column before will accuse me of a special love for the man in the street. But I do think it significant that the frankly illiterate person seems to be so much less gullible than the holders of college degrees.

Mr. Stassen, come to think of it, is a fairly representative selection to stand for our Intellectual Middle Class. He incarnates their two outstanding characteristics — the half-educated person's magic credulity, and his negation of intelligence.

What is it we call "science," and what do we call "intelligence"? I do not intend to strain the reader's patience with minute semantical research, but we all may easily agree on these two approximately correct definitions: "science" is the control of a body of ordered knowledge for the prediction and control of future events; and "intelligence" is the faculty to anticipate the consequences of present acts and behavior. Let us, at any rate, accept these admittedly broad definitions for the purposes of our investigation. And what do we see? We see the contemporary intellectual violate nothing so much as the two main commitments of his estate: twice as recklessly as the illiterate, he discards in predicting the future the body of accumulated knowledge; and twice as blindly as the blind man-in-the-street the intellectual refuses to anticipate the consequences of his present behavior.

His irresponsibility shows nowhere more glowingly than in the case of Disarmament. This case, I dare say, will go down in history not only as the most unforgivable blunder of the Eisenhower Administration but, even more, as the final treason of the intellectuals.

The idea, in a nutshell, is that the world can be saved from atomic armament and war by an internationally controlled dismemberment of the international atomic plant. And I shall not go here into the specialized strategic problem whether it is in our, the free world's, interest to renounce the only weapon in which we can hope to retain superiority. I confine myself, in this context, to the notion of "international control." This notion, I contend, is irrational and untenable—irrational and untenable, that is, if we consider ourselves committed, in predicting future events, to an orderly survey of available knowledge.

For "international control of disarmament," by no means a new concept, has been tried more tenaciously than most other catchwords of the diplomatic con game. For more than ten years, from 1919 to 1931, an enormous military machinery of the Allies of World War I was stationed on German territory to control and enforce the disarmament of Germany that was stipulated in the Treaty of Versailles. The results are known: the Inter-Allied Control Commissions are, to this day, the most frustrated installations of military history. From 1919 to 1931, Germany made greater military progress than any of the Allies. And this was not Hitler's fanatical Germany. This was the democratic Germany of Weimar.

An intellectual, you would assume, before he signs up for Eisenhower's Children's Crusade, would survey this available information and separate its essence. Whole libraries have been written about the tragic farce of Inter-Allied Disarmament Control in Germany. And its essence has been unequivocally established:

1. International control of disarmament is either completely superfluous or completely ineffective. If the government-to-be-controlled *means* to disarm, it is superfluous; and if that government *wants* a showdown, international disarmament control is ludicrously futile.

2. This was true in the case of a free modern nation which, by and large, lived within a common Western heritage of moral values. How insurmountably true must it be in the case of a nation which openly challenges all Western tenets and frankly dedicates itself to conquering the world for a new religion!

3. Unless and until Mr. Eisenhower produces rationally debatable evidence why and how an International Control of *Soviet* Disarmament differs from the congenitally futile Inter-Allied Control of *German* Disarmament (1919-1931), it would seem intellectually dishonorable to support his Children's Crusade in Europe.

Which means, of course, that it will flourish among our intellectuals. For their gullibility in the face of "the future" is even greater than their spite for the wisdom of the past.

BOOKS IN REVIEW

Broad Overhang

WILLMOORE KENDALL

"God, James," Wilde once said in response to a Whistler epigram, "I wish I'd said that." "Don't worry, Oscar," Whistler replied, "You will." This reviewer, similarly, wishes that the political scientists of America, himself included, had not left to someone outside their profession the writing of *Common Sense and the Fifth Amendment* (by Sidney Hook: Criterion Books, $3.00). And he confidently predicts that they, himself included, will be plagiarizing its contents for many a long day—or, failing that, will go on talking the kind of nonsense about self-incrimination that all of us were brought up on, and that has enabled the Communists to transform the privilege against self-incrimination into one of their most potent weapons.

"No person . . . shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself." So reads the non-self-incrimination clause of the U.S. Constitution. But nothing could matter less: our present law of self-incrimination, as laid down by the courts, is related to it only as a broad overhang is related to its foundation. The "privilege," today, is by no means confined to criminal cases—or even (since it applies in congressional hearings) to cases in the courts of law. It applies now not merely to defendants, but to *all* witnesses. It excuses witnesses from answering not merely questions the replies to which would be directly self-incriminating, but also any question a truthful answer to which might provide a "link in the chain of evidence" that might result in prosecution, *and* any question about the witness' grounds for thinking that truthful answers might incriminate him. It extends to many "questions in which by common agreement his answer could not possibly incriminate him." And it has been held to include not merely the privilege of refusing to answer, but the privilege of doing so *without giving rise to any inference about one's guilt*, no matter how inescapable, in pure logic, that inference may be.

Professor Hook's main contention in this book is that the time has come when we must rethink this whole matter, and (since we are always free to raze that which we have built on a foundation) perhaps undo some of what the courts have done, or even (since we can also root up foundations) ask ourselves whether the Constitution itself should contain a non-self-incrimination clause.

Certainly, he believes, we must rethink the part about no inference of guilt.

Few readers of NATIONAL REVIEW, I take it, will need much of Professor Hook's persuading on that last. But let all of them remember that this book is the place to go for a corpus of argument in support of a position they have long defended—and, in any case, let all of them who have mourned the simultaneous passing of the stiletto and the 16-inch cannon take care not to miss the show. The regnant anti-inference-of-guilt doctrine, Hook insists, rests either:

First, on question-begging hypothetical examples (an innocent man takes the privilege, an inference of guilt is drawn; is not the inference wrong?—indeed it is, Hook replies in effect, but not necessarily unwarranted).

Or, second, on arguments that prove merely that taking the privilege is "not necessarily *sufficient* or *conclusive* evidence of guilt or involvement with respect to the issue under inquiry."

Or, third, on an indefensible extension of the maxim that a man is innocent until proved guilty. (Hook's answer: the real issue is whether the fact of taking the privilege can properly be regarded as part of the proof of his guilt.)

Or, fourth, on the false contention that we shift the burden of proof onto the defendant when we permit the inference of guilt. (Hook's answer: the burden must indeed remain with the accusers; but in making out their case the accusers can, "in the interest of truth and justice, question him . . . , ask for a truthful answer, and draw an adverse inference, prejudicial to him, if he refuses to reply on grounds that a truthful answer would tend to be self-incriminating.")

The refutations are, in each case, devastating and, as nearly as can be in such matters, definitive—thus reminiscent (though Professor Hook may not thank me for the comparison) of the late F. H. Bradley at his best. "Common sense," Hook concludes, "recognizes that evidence against a man acquires a greater force when it is not denied, particularly when a man is in a position to deny or refute the evidence. *Whose* common sense? the reader may inquire. Literally, the common sense of the moral tradition of at least the Western world. . . ."

Should the privilege itself be withdrawn? Here Professor Hook shows himself at *his* best—that is, as a legal and political theorist forcing the discussion of a difficult and involved problem over into hitherto unbroken ground, and delicately weighing—against one another—principles and interests for each of which there is something to be said. He is always aware of his indebtedness to earlier writers (Bentham, J. S. Mill, Wigmore, and NATIONAL REVIEW's Dickerman Williams), but deeply troubled by the present condition of the relevant literature, and profoundly convinced that the issues *can* be resolved

by right reason illuminated by political knowledge and understanding.

Hook concludes (here we cannot possibly follow out the details of the argument):

—that the stock justifications for retention of the privilege (forcing a man to testify against himself is cruel, abolition of the privilege would encourage third-degree methods at the police station and the court house, protection of the innocent should take precedence over the apprehension and punishment of the guilty) simply will not hold water;

—that we had better retain the privilege, though subject to the limitation that *illegitimate* use of it (to protect persons other than the user, to prevent damage to the user's reputation, to extricate the user from difficult situations in which "there is not the remotest danger of self-incrimination") is "as much a form of perjury as lying under oath";

—that current objections to immunity statutes rest for the most part on "a politically confused sentimentalism";

—that the best contemporary justification for the privilege runs in terms of the nature of the contemporary state, namely: "The state has become so powerful *today,* so many techniques are at its command in proving its case, that it is wise to lean over backward and permit individuals the benefit of withholding pertinent evidence if it tends to implicate them";

—that *my* privilege against self-incrimination may conflict with *your* right to compel the testimony you need in order to protect yourself against injustice;

—that the objective of our judicial system is—or should be—to see justice done after the fullest possible canvass of the available evidence.

And by justice Professor Hook seems to mean, for all the Deweyite trappings of his argument, that same good that preoccupied those old absolutists Plato and Aristotle and Thomas Aquinas.

The Missing Issue

German-French Unity: Basis for European Peace, by Hermann Lutz. 269 pp. Chicago: Henry Regnery Company. $5.00

France Defeats EDC, edited by Daniel Lerner and Raymond Aron. 225 pp. New York: Frederick A. Praeger. $5.00

Each of these books discusses an aspect of Franco-German relations; each fails in the end to come to grips with its central problem.

Mr. Lutz' book, the first in a series of three, deals exclusively with the myth that the Germans are a peculiarly bellicose and barbarous people who delight in "aggression," and must therefore be made to expiate their "war guilt." This volume is limited to the years 1870-1933 and, accordingly, it is principally concerned with World War One and its aftermath.

The essential facts are now obvious to everyone who has seriously considered the question. The primary responsibility for the First World War falls directly upon Serbia. The second responsibility falls on Russia, which encouraged Serbia to resist the just demands of Austria, which was the first of the great powers to mobilize for war. The tertiary responsibility is multiple, and no nation that entered the war can be acquitted of grievous blunders.

In the propagation during and after the war of the Allied fiction that the Kaiser and the German people were "war criminals," Mr. Lutz rightly sees a major cause of all the subsequent woes of Europe, including the Second World War.

An historian, Mr. Lutz sees the problem as one of historical fact; and he is puzzled by the obstinacy of governments and statesmen who in postwar years resolutely maintained the truth of a lie. But in his zeal for historical truth Mr. Lutz overlooked two fundamental facts.

No government or politician in the Allied countries could have turned to the people on November 12, 1918 —or, given the continuity of parties, at any time thereafter—and said, in effect: "While the fighting was going on we thought it a good idea to manufacture lies to pep you up. Now that the victory is won, please forget all that bunk about Making the World Safe for Democracy and a War to End Wars."

The historical facts that Mr. Lutz so earnestly points out were, of course, known to Woodrow Wilson. What Mr. Lutz fails to understand is the schizophrenic operation of the Liberal mind. It was self-evident to these "intellectuals" that monarchy is *per se* a Bad Thing. Therefore the assassination of archdukes is a Good Thing indubitably productive of "social good." From this it follows that any nation that tries to discourage the murder of archdukes is guilty of "trying to stop the clock of Progress." With Germany's guilt thus established, the facts of history are obviously irrelevant.

The other book with which we are concerned is a collaborative enterprise in which nine authors, most of them French, circle all around the question why the French assembly finally rejected in 1954 a scheme proposed by a French diplomat in 1950 for the creation of a supernational European army to be called the "European Defense Community." The authors succeed in burying the question in an accumulation of presumably accurate and occasionally interesting data about French newspapers, and French regionalism.

Although the authors tell us much about French fear of Germany, and some take pains to make that fear seem irrational, none of them has dared to do more than drop a hint or two about French fear of the U.S., a consideration that was at least equally potent in the minds of many intelligent Frenchmen during the debate.

To many French observers it appears evident that the U.S. and Soviet

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Aptly subtitled The Realities of Foreign Aid, this extraordinarily timely book tells the complete story of the way in which we have wasted billions of dollars in a futile attempt to buy peace and security. The author, *Eugene W. Castle,* gives facts and figures to fully document his contention that we need a complete re-evaluation of our entire foreign-aid program. *$3.50.*

THE SOVEREIGN STATES

James Jackson Kilpatrick discusses the entire history of States Rights, from the writing of the Constitution to the present day. He shows how the Federal Government has continually worked to wear down the legitimate authority of the States—and suggests possible means to halt this trend. *$5.00.*

"Every citizen of the United States would do well to read and study this work." —Senator Harry F. Byrd

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Russia have closely cooperated to dismember the colonial empires of England and Holland, and thus to create a series of political vacuums which Communism must eventually fill. Even before the loss of Indo-China, these observers suspected that the policy of the U.S. was directed by men eager to strip France of her colonial possessions and eventually to drive white men from North Africa.

The scheme for a "European Defense Community," if adopted, would probably have operated to prevent France from sending to North Africa the military forces that now maintain a precarious order in that region; and the French colonists would have been liquidated long ago. From the Liberal point of view, of course, this is a consummation devoutly to be desired; but it did not appeal to prudent Frenchmen, and the scheme was therefore defeated.

Given the profound cultural and temperamental differences that divide them, France and Germany can find a common ground only on the premise that European culture, despite its diversity, is united by a common superiority to the ululating barbarisms of Asia and Africa. But, as England and France recently learned to their cost at Suez, the Liberals who govern the U.S. will always protect Communist stooges and their rabble against white men and Christians. In such circumstances European culture must soon cease to be viable. REVILO OLIVER

Proud "City of God"

Byzantium: Its Triumphs and Tragedy, by René Guerdan. 228 pp. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. $4.50

This is an account, historical and descriptive, of the fabulous Eastern Roman Empire, which survived the fall of Rome by a thousand years. The work of a French scholar, it is designed to make more generally known one of the most extraordinary civilizations the world has seen. The ideal of Byzantine culture has exerted a strong fascination upon many who have come to know it. Yeats especially was attracted by Byzantium, feeling that there, as never before or since, "religious, aesthetic, and practical life were one."

The reason behind this was Byzantium's representation of itself. The Byzantines believed that their state was actually the extension upon earth of Christ's Kingdom. They kept an Emperor only for form; the real Emperor was Christ, for whom a throne, empty save for a copy of the Gospel, was always maintained beside that of the acting Emperor. "The Byzantine Empire was, in effect, nothing but the great scene of a spectacular drama, a mystery or a passion play, in which the consecrated dynast as the leading character played through the centuries the part of Christ."

The Byzantines deduced not only their constitution and their forms of government from the Gospel but their art as well. There were no statues in the churches, and people were depicted only in relief, as in pictures, icons, and mosaics. The reason was that Byzantine was a City of God and that supernatural beings do not exist in three dimensions. Artistic portrayal was of the abstract and disembodied. Gold was everywhere; it gilded the domes of the churches; it shone in the mosaics; it was woven into the court dress of the Emperor. Why? There is a passage in the book of *Revelations* which says that the new Jerusalem is entirely of gold.

In its actual life, however, Byzantium was far from a heavenly city. Monopoly and privilege were entrenched by law; free enterprise was virtually proscribed; and a fierce class struggle continued down through the centuries. Changes of government were most often by *coups d'état;* according to M. Guerdan's figures, of 109 sovereigns, 65 were assassinated. While an Emperor reigned, it was God's will that he reign; but if he was murdered, that was God's will too. There was something Byzantine even in the cruelty of the punishments meted out by law.

If Byzantium has left a lesson for the philosophic historian, that is probably to be read in its excessive institutionalization. To divinize an institution is to make it eventually an idol, and an idol always demands tribute. The Byzantines tended to worship the forms they had created, and the forms came to exact a toll that was ruinous.

Strange though the thought may at first appear, there are nations of the modern world which, in their bureaucratic and industrial organizations, seem to be falling into the Byzantine pattern. RICHARD M. WEAVER

To the Editor

Double Jeopardy

In the June 1 issue you note once again your disapproval of the Status of Forces Treaty. . . .

May I, as an ex-serviceman, add an argument against the treaty which I think is unknown to most people? What of placing a person in double jeopardy? One specific example I have seen: an airman in a small English village paid a parking fine, but when the police report reached his C.O. the airman's driver's license was lifted for thirty days. . . .

It is my opinion that most servicemen would not only favor the treaty but prefer it—regardless of any question of sovereignty—were it not for the fact that they *are* placed in double jeopardy under some military ideas of "justice."

Brooklyn, N.Y. FRANCIS X. SOMERS

Chappaqua Is Not Alone

I wish that every parent in America could read Priscilla Buckley's masterpiece, "Chappaqua Builds its Dream School" [June 1]. She has a talent for making facts and statistics live dangerously and hilariously.

Having just voted NO on a bond issue for another low-swept . . . little Waldorf-Astoria establishment in my own town, I know of what she speaks. I might add the results: 300 people went to the polls out of 23,000 population and the bond issue won. . . .

Park Ridge, Ill. BEA VON BOESELAGER

The timely and interesting article, "Chappaqua Builds Its Dream School" is, unfortunately, not at all on a unique situation. . . . Within the last month the following New York school districts, among others, have voted down their annual budgets as presented by their boards of education: Guilderland, Albany County; East Greenbush, Rensselaer County; Rhinebeck, Millbrook and Pawling in Dutchess County.

. . . The people are beginning to realize that local control of their schools is a myth and the budgets they are being asked to approve are not only out of all proportion to their ability to pay but are also implementing policies and plans of which they do not approve and which are referred to as "social change" by the professional educationists. . . .

The cornerstone of this program of "social change" is the centralization of all school districts in the state in accordance with a "Master Plan" which can be altered at the discretion of the Commissioner of Education. . . .

After centralization comes the building program . . . as set forth in the report of the Regents Council on Readjustment of High School Education (1954). Although the people are still permitted to vote on the bond issues for school buildings, they have no real choice as to the type, size or design of their schools. This is figured out by the professional educationists in Albany. . . .

With the successful replacement of the schoolhouses with "community centers" . . . the stage is set for the enriched program or the change from traditional to progressive (re-adjusted) education. . . .

Delmar, N.Y. WILLIAM LUNDERMAN

Joseph Conrad's Centennial

Since reading in your issue of May 18 the fine centennial tribute to Conrad by Robert A. Hunter, I am most happy to conclude that, today, the best reviews of books are to be found in NATIONAL REVIEW. Using Jean-Aubry's biography as a springboard, Mr. Hunter has perfected a sparkling essay every facet of which flashes . . . [with] comprehension and sympathy.

WALTER SCOTT HASTINGS
Roxbury Crossing, Mass.

Dr. Schweitzer and Nuclear Tests

With considerable surprise I read Mr. Schlamm's calculated slam at Dr. Schweitzer [June 1] . . .

[Mr. Schlamm's] readers are entitled to the exact wording of Dr. Schweitzer's 1943 declaration that the Allies had the moral right to use every weapon including radioactivity. This is important. . . . What Cousins tricked him into, as you term it, is immaterial. . . . He is justly concerned with the endless testing of bombs, and in this he is joined, so I would gather from a careful reading of the news, by at least half of the responsible scientists of this country and England. If we have not a considerable surplus in these weapons we will never have, from all I hear.

And Dr. Schweitzer is justly concerned about this trigger-happy country, with its disregard for human life and its record as being the only nation that ever used this weapon on humanity. . . .

Los Altos, Cal. GEORGE T. KEATING

The Atomic Energy Treaty

In a letter to one of my Senators (the other being an ADA Republican and a World Federalist who is beyond redemption), I have written the following paragraph:

"The Senate now has under consideration, for ratification or rejection, a treaty which would make the United States a member of the International Atomic Energy Agency, which has already been eagerly approved by the Soviet Union. This treaty would make available to other members of the Agency quantities of fissionable material of 'weapons grade,' from the American stockpile, without discrimination between friends and enemies. If such nuclear materials were not used by Communist recipients in weapons to be used against us in the event of war, they would replace quantities of such materials from the Soviet Russian stockpile which have been, or will be, used in the manufacture of such weapons. This is not only 'folly,' as I see it described in the press; it is treasonable folly. You may say that 'treasonable' is too strong an adjective, because treason implies malice aforethought. That is not true. Just as insanity, though irresponsible, can be criminal in its manifestations, so can folly, though irresponsible, be treasonable in its manifestations. Wherefore, in my humble estimation, any Senator's vote for ratification of this treaty will make that Senator, whether a fool or not, a party to a treasonable commitment."

The undersigned strongly urges any reader of NATIONAL REVIEW who shares the opinions expressed above, to express them in letters to his Senators, in his own way of course; and to do it now—pronto.

Bernardsville, N.J. HEPTISAX